1: Holmberg--39 [3] (1941-42) 1950 Siriono
116, 273, 578

"In only one instance did I notice that the aggressions of the drinking feasts were the direct cause of strained relations for a long period of time. During a bout in August 1941, Eantándu (Father-of-Strong-one), a chief, insulted and wrestled when drunk with Erésa-eánta (Strong-eyes), his cousin, or father's sister's son, over questions of food. Eantándu when drunk told Erésa-eánta that he never brought him any food, that he never hunted spider monkeys, that he was lazy, that he was evil, etc. Although neither participant knew much about what he was doing, a wrestling match ensued in which Erésa-eánta got badly burned in the fire, and he was unable to get out of his hammock for several days. As a result of this fight, about which Erésa-eánta was later told by his wives and brothers, strained relations persisted until January 1942, when I first saw the two together again at a drinking feast given by Eantándu—one which, incidentally, did not end in a brawl, as the liquor ran out. After recovering from the first drinking feast, Erésa-eánta with a couple of his brothers and their families remained away from the band for long periods of time, hunting, fishing, collecting, and attending their gardens at a nearby lake. Although the party returned to Tibaera from time to time for a few days or a week, Erésa-eánta would have no relations whatever with Eantándu, even though their respective wives were friendly enough. After relations had been reestablished at the second drinking feast, however, the two continued on friendly terms."

116, 152, 595, 578

"A man enjoys sex rights with all of his wives, but they are not necessarily exercised in any prescribed manner such as by rotating from one wife to another or by concentrating principally on the first wife. In sororal unions the kinship tie between cowives doubtless does much to mitigate friction that might otherwise arise between them, but in non-sororal plural marriages sexual jealousy between cowives is sometimes intense. Since food and sex go hand in hand in Siriono society—and there is a scarcity of the former—the wives with whom the husband most frequently has sex relations are also the ones who generally get the most to eat. Consequently, cowives frequently vie with one another for the sexual favors of their husband. This sometimes leads to bitter fights and quarrels. If, for instance, a first wife is [50] growing old and is receiving less and less attention from her husband as regards both food and sex, she frequently displaces the aggression she feels for him, but cannot express directly, to a younger wife who is enjoying his favors at the moment. Such outbursts of emotion sometimes culminate in bitter fights, the women tearing up each other's hammocks and striking each other with digging sticks and spindles. An aging first wife generally maintains her dominance in the family for a while, but as her husband pays less and less attention to her, she gradually resigns herself to a secondary role in the household. She continues to cling to her economic rights, however, as long as she possibly can, and these are usually maintained longer than her sexual dominance.

A man generally takes no part in the fights that break out between his wives; indeed he

is usually away on the hunt when they occur. Only if they occur too frequently or become too violent does the husband interfere. Under these conditions he may threaten with divorce the wife standing lower in his favor, in order to keep peace in the family."

1: Holmberg--50 (1941-42) 1950 Siriono
116, 152, 578, 593

"While relations between husband and wife are generally amicable, quarrels are of frequent occurrence. They usually arise over questions of food and sex. When a man has been out hunting all day without eating and arrives home to find that his wife has not prepared something for him to eat, or if he has had ill luck in hunting and is chided for this by his wife, a quarrel is apt to arise. In situations of this kind it is the husband who expresses the stronger aggression, and as a rule other members of a family take no part in a marital dispute.

If a man is only mildly angry with his wife, his feelings usually go no further than harsh words. He may accuse her of being etómi (lazy) or ečimbási (promiscuous), or threaten her with divorce. If his anger rises to a higher pitch, he may rip a string or two from her hammock or smash one of her pots. If his anger becomes intense, he may tear her hammock to shreds, chase her out of the house with a firebrand, or even turn his anger against himself and break his bow and arrows. He never beats her, however. Following an intense outburst of aggression, to which a woman responds by crying and running into the bush, a man usually leaves the portion of the dwelling which he occupies with his wife and goes back to his relatives until amicable relations have again been established. A man signifies his desire for reconciliation by returning to the hearth of his wife."

1: Holmberg--57 (1941-42) 1950 Siriono
116, 578, 609, 835

"Potential husbands and wives to some extent share the patterns of freedom that exist between husband and wife. This is especially true as regards the relations between a man and his wife's sister or a woman and her husband's brother. But as the nearness of relationship between potential spouses decreases, the patterns of freedom in their public relations also decrease. The principal reason for this seems to be the jealousies that arise out of too frequent sexual intercourse between distantly related potential spouses, which sometimes result in fights and quarrels. On the whole, however, the relationships between potential spouses are patterned along the lines of those actually existing between husband and wife."

1: Holmberg--59-60 (1941-42) 1950 Siriono
116, 159, 643, 578

"The following is an example of the sort of thing that was constantly occurring at Tibaera. Kwándu (Porcupine), a member of the band and extended family of Ačíba-eóko (Long-arm), the chief, was absent for several days with his younger brother on a hunting expedition. On returning to camp, they brought with them about a dozen tortoises of good size. These were tied up with lianas and hung on beams in the house, one or two of them being butchered each day. Ačíba-eóko, desiring meat, first made a direct request to Kwándu, but was brushed off and given nothing. Following this he made public remarks without mentioning names that mbía (countrymen) were keeping all the meat to themselves and not giving any to him, the chief. The owners of the tortoises still paid no attention to him. Finally, after about 3 days, Ačíba-eóko, having received nothing, became so angry that he left for the hunt [60] with his family and stayed away for about a week. He returned with considerable roast meat which he distributed to no one else but members of his immediate family."

1: Holmberg--60 [5] (1941-42) 1950 Siriono
116, 626, 671, 578

"In spite of the extreme individualism of the Siriono in this respect, there are, nevertheless, certain incentives to conform to the legal norms that do exist. If, for instance, a person does share food with a kinsman, he has the right to expect some in return, and if a man does occasionally share his wife with a brother, he has the right occasionally to share that brother's wive. Reciprocity, however, is almost always forced, and is sometimes even hostile. One usually has to demand something in return for that which one has reluctantly given. Indeed, sharing rarely occurs without a certain amount of mutual distrust and misunderstanding; a person always feels that it is he who is being taken advantage of. Nevertheless, this type of forced reciprocity does seem to be one of the principal rewards of conformity."

1: Holmberg--61 (1941-42) 1950 Siriono
116, 578, 683

"Minor assaults, resulting from quarrels that take place over food and sex or from those that arise during drinking feasts, are relatively common. While physical aggression against one another during quarrels meets with a certain amount of public disapproval, it usually goes unpunished. Assaults, however, often result in strained relations between the parties involved for some time after they happen."

1: Holmberg--61 [6] (1941-42) 1950 Siriono
116, 578, 593

"One cannot remain long with the Siriono without noting that quarreling and wraggling are ubiquitous. Hardly a day passes among them when a dispute of some kind does not break out. Quarrels are especially common between husband and wife, between cowives, between sons-in-law and parents-in-law, and between children of an extended family, but they occur between all types of people, relatives and nonrelatives. Quarrels are usually settled between the disputants who start them. This is especially true of those which take place in the nuclear and extended families. If a man is quarreling with his wife or mother-in-law, for instance, other people seldom intervene. If two members of different extended families become involved in a quarrel, however, relatives of the disputants may come to their aid. Children, for example, are frequently observed striking women with whom their mothers are quarreling, and brothers often come to each other's aid if they get involved in a quarrel outside the family. The Siriono, however, maintain no arbiter of disputes. The chief, for instance, seldom takes part in settling differences that occur outside of his family."

1: Holmberg--61 [7] (1941-42) 1950 Siriono
116, 152, 578, 261

"Data were recorded on 75 disputes that came to my attention, apart from those that took place at drinking feasts. It is significant to note that 44 of them arose directly over questions of food (mostly between women or between husband and wife); 19 broke out over sex (between husband and wife, cowives and women); only 12 were assignable to various other causes. Here we have overwhelming evidence of the important role played by food in Siriono society. It is the most prominent cause of ingroup strife."

1: Holmberg--61 [8]
116, 152, 261, 578

(1941-42) 1950

Siriono

"People constantly complain and quarrel about the distribution of food. They accuse each other of not sharing food, of hoarding food, of eating at night, and of stealing off into the forest to eat. This was particularly noticeable at Tibaera, where Silva and I made considerable effort to initiate cooperative planting of gardens—a custom foreign to the Siriono under aboriginal conditions. Several acres of land were cooperatively cleared and planted with maize. While the maize was ripening, bitter complaints were registered, and quarrels took place over its distribution, although there was plenty of maize for everyone. People accused each other of stealing maize before it was ripe, of harvesting more than they had a right to, of transporting it into the forest and eating it on the sly. Men complained that they had done most of the work, while the women were eating most of the crop. In fact, few men ventured on the hunt at this time for fear of returning to find that others had eaten most of the crop of maize."

1: Holmberg--61-62 (1941-42) 1950 Siriono
116, 152, 261, 578

"Quarreling over the allotment of meat is equally common. While the distribution of meat is ordi[62]narily confined to the extended family because the supply is seldom abundant, there is usually someone within the family who feels that he is not getting his share. Especially do the men accuse the women of hoarding meat, of eating it when the men are not around, or of consuming more than their share. Enía said to me one night, 'When someone comes near the house, women hide the meat; they cover it with leaves. When you ask them where the meat is they tell you there is none. They eat in the night and steal off in the forest to eat."

1: Holmberg--62 [2] (1941-42) 1950 Siriono
116, 578, 152, 562, 837

"Quarrels over sex can hardly be divorced from those over food. In this respect men seldom express aggression against other men who have seduced their wives but center it on their adulterous wives. Women, on the other hand, express little aggression against their adulterous husbands but channel it against the women who have caused their husbands to err. Women are thus believed to be the cause of most sexual disputes. Women may chide their husbands for being unfaithful, but the fact that the man always respond with more violent accusations that the women are unfaithful usually settles the dispute before it culminates in a violent end."

1: Holmberg--62 [3] (1941-42) 1950 Siriono
116, 152, 527, 578, 273, 626

"Drinking feasts are occasions on which much latent antagonism and aggression are expressed between men. At these feasts men openly air their complaints, whether these have to do with food, with sex, or with any other subject of contention. The disputes are settled by wrestling matches, and are usually forgotten after the period of drunkenness is over. It is interesting to note that aggression at drinking feasts is limited to wrestling matches; any other type of fighting is frowned upon and is usually stopped by non-participant men and women. On one occasion Eantándu, when drunk, struck an opponent with his fists. Everyone began to clamor that he was fighting unfairly, 'like a white man.' He stopped immediately."

1: Holmberg--62 [4] (1941-42) 1950 Siriono
116, 152, 578

"Except at drinking feasts antagonisms seldom lead to violence, and even at these the participants are usually so drunk that they are unable to harm one another. On other occasions strong words are used between disputants, but fighting with weapons and clubs is rare. This is especially true of the men, who seldom express direct aggression against each other, although among women quarrels frequently culminate in battles with digging sticks."

1: Holmberg--62 [5] (1941-42) 1950 Siriono
116, 154, 224, 578, 159

"Men often dissipate their anger toward other men by hunting. One day Eantándu was angry with Mbiku who had hunted coati and given him none. Flushed with anger, Eantándu picked up his bow and arrows and departed for the hunt. When he returned about 5 hours later with a couple of small monkeys, his wrath had subsided considerably. He told me that when men are angry they go hunting. If they shoot any game their anger disappears; even if they do not kill anything they return home too tired to be angry."

1: Holmberg--62 [6] (1941-42) 1950 Siriono
116, 154, 578, 621, 166

"If enmity between families becomes intense, one of them may migrate to the forest for a while until hostile feelings subside; if it becomes unbearable, one of them may split off from the band and join another band, or several extended families may break off from the band and start a new band of their own. Seldom are differences so deep and lasting, however, that this latter method of adjustment need be resorted to."

2: Holmberg--180
116, 578, 831

(1941-42) 1946

Siriono

"The Siriono say of a person in whom sexual desire is aroused that he is ečimbasi. To be ečimbasi is all right when sexual activity is confined to intercourse with one's real spouses, and occasionally with one's potential spouses, but one who takes flagrant advantage of his sex rights over potential spouses to the neglect of his real spouses is accused of being ečimbasi in the sense of being promiscuous. Such accusations not infrequently lead to fights and quarrels."

2: Holmberg--187 (1941-42) 1946 Siriono
116, 152, 578, 595, 837

"Fights and quarrels over sex are common but occur less often than fights over food. As has already been mentioned, such quarrels arise largely as a result of too frequent intercourse with a potential spouse to the neglect of the actual spouse; this is really what adultery amounts to among the Siriono. However much men are chided by their wives for deceiving them sexually, this seems to have little effect on their behavior, for they are constantly on the alert for a chance to seduce a potential wife with whom they have not had sexual relations, or to carry on an affair with a yukwáki (young girl) who has passed through the rites of puberty. In plural marriages, however, I rarely noted pronounced sexual jealousy between the wives, possibly because most plural marriages are of the sororal polygynous type."